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College and **School News**

New appointments for the year 1940-1941 at Dillard University include: Miss A. Elizabeth Catlett, A.B., Howard University, M.F.A. University of Iowa, Instructor in Art; Miss Charlia Cole, B.S., Tillotson College, M.S., Kansas State College, Instructor in Homemaking; Wilbur H. Brown, A.B., M.B.A., University of Pennsylvania, Instructor in Economics; H. R. Jerkins, A.B., Morehouse College, A.M., University of Wisconsin, Instructor in English; and Daniel T. Skinner, A.B. (magnum cum laude), Harvard College, A.M., Boston University, Instructor in English and French.

Miss Catlett won first prize in sculpture at the American Negro Exposition with her piece entitled, "Negro Mother and Child."

The opening address before the faculty and student representatives at Bennett College on Sept. 7, was delivered by Dr. Edgar W. Knight, professor of education, University of North Carolina. Enrollment is already closed on 125 new students who will live in the dormitories. Students come from North Carolina and 16 other states.

Prof. Kelso B. Morris, associate professor of biology at Wiley College was awarded his Ph.D. degree in chemistry at Cornell University this summer. He received the M.S. degree from the same institution in 1937. He is a member of the honorary scholastic society, Sigma Xi. Many of his articles have appeared in learned journals.

Dean V. E. Daniel, who received his master's degree from Colorado in 1925. will be awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Chicago at its autumn convocation. He has made an exhaustive study of the ritualistic ceremonies of Negro churches which constituted the subject of his thesis. He has been at Wiley a number of years as professor of sociology and dean.

Mrs. L. B. Williams, associate professor of education has retired.

The post of Dean of Instruction at Hampton Institute has been accepted by R. O'Hara Lanier, assistant director

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Born in Winston-Salem, N. C., in 1900, Mr. Lanier took his bachelor of arts degree at Lincoln University, and his master of arts degree at Leland Stanford University. He has also done graduate work at New York University, and as a Rosenwald Fellow in Vocational Guidance at Harvard University. He has taught history and psychology at Tuskegee Institute, been dean at Florida A. & M. College and Houston College for Negroes.

Dean Numa P. Adams, professor of Medicine and Dean of the School of Medicine of Howard University, died in Chicago on August 29, of pneumonia following an operation. He was connected with Howard for more than fifteen years, and had been Dean of the College of Medicine for the past ten

Twenty-four students in the first session of Shaw University Summer School earned averages of 93 or above and were included on the Shaw honor

New members of the faculty are: Samuel A. Barksdale (Virginia Union University and University of Michigan) is assistant dean of men and assistant coach. Miss Evelyn M. Yetman (A.B. and A.M. Columbia University) is instructor in romance languages. Prof. Charles R. Eason, head of the division of natural sciences and mathematics is expected to return to duty at Shaw after a leave of one year during which he pursued courses leading to the Ph.D. degree at Ohio State University.

For the first time in its history, graduation exercises at West Virginia State College saw the commencement address delivered by a woman on August 9. This unique honor fell to Miss Lorena E. Kemp, assistant Professor of English and coach of the intercollegiate debating teams.

West Virginia State is one of the first Negro institutions to begin classes under the National Defense Training Program. Prof. J. C. Evans, Director of the Division of Trade and Technical Education, reports sixty students enrolled in three classes in mechanical arts: the internal combustion engines, welding and pattern and hand tool work, all of which offer immediate opportunity to qualified workers.

The college opened its fiftieth year on September 16. Two new teachers have been appointed to the departments of Education and Psychology: Dr. Grace Woodson, Ph.D. from Ohio State University (Education) and Dr. CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL for TEACHERS

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Rose Butler Browne, Doctor of Education from Harvard (Psychology).

Edward Williams, economics teacher at **Spelman College**, has won a renewal of his fellowship from the General Education Board and is taking further work at Columbia University.

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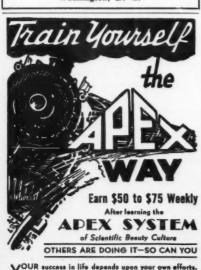
The dread automaton passed here today. His huge misshape hid the sun. Beneath his iron feet beauty died And vibrant life oozed redly out Through crushing fingers of steel. Bird song, Sky song, Music of wind and water Against the booming cadence Of his voice Trilled to nothingness.

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Volume 47, No. 10

Whole No. 358

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue. New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the oficial organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription as printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewed blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transis. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910. at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. T.

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NEXT MONTH

"Black Pirates of the Spanish Main" by Corinne Dean will be a feature of the November issue.

Also an editorial, "The Roosevelt Record,"

Book reviews will cover Dr. DuBois's autobiography, "Dusk of Dawn," by Charles Edward Russell; also Langston Hughes' autobiography, "Big Sea."

There will be a story, "Joe Charles King," with the usual pictures, poetry and other feature material.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Carter W. Wesley is publisher of the Houston, Tex., Informer and is active in all Lone Star State civic movements.

Rabbi Harry Essrig was formerly in Rochester, N. Y., but now lives in Evanston, Ill.

Stetson Kennedy is a young white native of Florida who contributed a story on peonage to THE CRISIS some time ago. His articles and short stories, dealing realistically with the southern scene, have appeared in Opportunity, Southern Folklore Quarterly, Student Advocate, Florida Review, etc.

George Padmore is well known to CRISIS readers. He is dodging Nazi bombs in Lantion.

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The Willkie Speeches

LTHOUGH the Willkie speech to a Negro audience in Chicago, September 13, was not the historic document his followers would have us believe, it did contain utterances of the greatest interest to colored people.

Mr. Willkie did not say anything new on lynching or the anti-lynching bill. He abhors lynching. He said so. President Roosevelt has said the same thing. So has Senator Tom Connally of Texas. Coolidge and Wilson said the same thing, in almost the exact language. Mr. Willkie thinks there ought to be a law. President Roosevelt declared

Nothing New On Lynching the "strong arm of government" ought to curb mob outrages. Mr. Willkie and the Republican politicians know, just as Mr.

Roosevelt knows, that there is a vast difference between a candidate or a party platform declaring for a law and actually getting it enacted. The Republicans had overwhelming control of the government in 1921-22. They passed an antilynching bill in the House and filibustered it to death in the Senate. The Democrats had overwhelming control of the government in 1937-38. They passed an anti-lynching bill in the House and filibustered it to death in the Senate.

In passing let us say that it appears to us that there are only two effective ways, politically, of dealing with lynching, and neither of these depends on any candidate. One is to extend the franchise to Negroes in the South. They will take care of the office holders who permit lynchings. other is through federal legislation which will be enacted only when Negro voters are numerous enough, articulate enough, and unified enough in the crucial eastern and middle western states to force action despite the traditions and trades on legislation between the two major parties.

But if he said nothing on lynching, Mr. Willkie did say something about relief, employment, and discriminations in the departments of the federal government, including the

The Negro does not want to be the relief segment of America. He wants work. He will work if private industry will give him a chance. Mr. Willkie's advisers placed his finger on a sore spot. The candidate had courage enough

We Want Work, Not Relief

to speak out on it. The aspect that puzzles those who know conditions is that Mr. Willkie is being backed almost 100 per cent

by the big industrialists of America. His backers are the very persons who are slamming the doors in the faces of Negroes who apply for jobs. Mr. Willkie's own pet industry, the vast empire of public utilities, enjoys the distinction of employing few, if any, colored people. We have only to look about us: Who reads the electric light meter in our homes? Who takes our money when we pay the electric bill? Who tries to sell us electric ranges, lamps, irons, radios, washing machines, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners? Not a Negro face is to be found anywhere in these jobs.

It may be, of course, that if Mr. Willkie were elected President he could do something about this. Just how he might do it is not clear, but he deserves credit for recognizing it as a problem facing Negroes.

Mr. Willkie again rang the bell when he talked about the discriminations in the federal government in Washington. This condition has been galling to Negro Americans under several Presidents, Republican and Democratic. It is not to

Jim Crow In Government

the credit of the Roosevelt administration that nothing has been done to change the practice. The civil service unfairness to Ne-

groes is another sore spot boldly challenged by Willkie. Here again the question arises as to how these problems can be attacked successfully. Mr. Willkie stated categorically that any subordinate of his guilty of discrimination would be fired. That is straight talk. It might run up against a few snags in the form of intrenched civil service jobs, but if carried out in even a few cases, would help set

Mr. Willkie labors under the handicap that his party has made promises similar to these before and has done nothing to redeem them after getting in office. The Republican party has been in power much more often, and for longer periods than the Democrats. Its performance on the Negro is nothing about which to boast. If Mr. Roosevelt has been glib and evasive, Mr. Hoover was dumb.

The Negro voter, torn between the certainty that the southern wing of the Democrats will hamstring every effort of the party to give the race a fair deal, and the uncertainty of the performance of the GOP in the past, is in a pickle.

"Between the Devil And—" What good to get the Republicans in control if they, in trading with the Democratic minority. shove Negro issues into the back-

ground? How far will big business go in giving Negroes jobs in private industry in the light of its past lily-white policies? To what degree can Mr. Willkie, personally, carry out the pledges he has made, pledges which involve such a sharp overturning of political tradition?

The paragraph quoted by *The Call* in which Mr. Willkie pledges to do away with "boondoggling and theorists" and get the nation to "produce, produce, produce" ought to disturb the Negro citizen. Mr. Willkie compares us to France and England and contrasts us with Germany. Germany, he says, produced while the others (and we) theorized. But do we want the kind of production Germany launched? Do we want the labor system that the Hitler production plan enforced? Of course there will be jobs enough for all of us under such a plan, but is Mr. Willkie serious in proposing to imitate the German scheme? We hope not. It is significant that the official publicity bureau release omitted this paragraph.

Aside from the Chicago speech delivered specifically to Negroes, Mr. Willkie made one other remark in his speech at Amarillo, Tex., as reported in The New York Times.

The story says: "Mr. Willkie

Old Southern said many friends in the South

Tradition

had told him . . . it was difficult to abandon the tradition of vot-

ing Democratic because that tradition arose out of necessity. Saying that he had much sympathy with this view, the nominee added that under normal circumstances for the people of the South to live up to this tradition would be a very natural and wise thing to do."

What "necessity"? The necessity of keeping the Negro out of politics. That is the bedrock of lily-white Democratic party politics in the South. And Mr. Willkie believes that ordinarily (when he is not a candidate) it is "a very natural and wise thing to do."

Something to think about between now and November 5.

Texans Seek Right to Vote

By Carter W. Wesley

THE suit that is now getting underway in Houston, will mark the fifth time Texas Negroes have carried their fight against the Democratic primary law to the supreme court of the United States. In two of the four previous times they won and in two, they lost. The fight against the primary laws in Texas can be viewed as a graphic story of the aggressiveness and pugnacity of Texas Negroes.

Prior to 1903, there were no laws regulating primarjes in the state. In that year the Terrell election law was passed, divesting party conventions and committees of control of party primary elections, and bestowing the control in the county executive committee. The provision making the change was retained in the revision in 1905 as well

as in the revision of 1911.

Under these provisions, the respective county committees decided the question of the Negro's eligibility, as he was able to vote in some counties and barred in others. But, there were not enough instances of Negroes being barred to precipitate a real issue. Then, in 1923 the second called session of the Texas legislature amended the existing statutes by specifically providing in the statute itself that "In no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election held in

Immediately, C. N. Love, publisher of the Texas Freeman in Houston, filed suit attacking this statute. But, in the case of Love vs. Griffith, which was decided by the supreme court of the United States in October, 1924, no decision was rendered on the merits, because the court found that the question, raised by extraordinary remedy, was moot by the time it got around to

deciding the case.

Thereafter, Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso filed suit in the Western District of Texas, attacking the primary law on the ground that the statutory provision barring Negroes was unconstitutional. The lower court ruled against him and he appealed, finally reaching the supreme court in the case of Nixon vs. Herndon, decided March 7, 1927. In that case, the supreme court held that the statutory provision was unconstitutional and ruled it out. This suit was handled by the NAACP.

Immediately, the Governor, Dan Moody, called a special session of the legislature and it enacted another law, Another legal battle, backed by the whole state of Texas, has been launched under auspices of the NAACP, to break down the white Democratic primary which keeps a million Texas Negroes from the ballot

lodging the right to fix the qualifications in the state executive committee of the party. Having been invested with the power, the Democratic executive committee proceeded, with clocklike precision, to bar Negroes from voting in the primary. Then Dr. Nixon attacked the case again in the Western District. The case of Nixon vs. Condon came to decision by the supreme court of the United States, May 2, 1932. The supreme court declared the statutory provision, lodging the power to bar Negroes in the state executive committee of a party, unconstitutional. This suit was also handled by the NAACP.

Method Suggested

The court, however, made the statement that it was not deciding whether parties or their committees, under given circumstances, were agencies of government within the 14th and 15th amendment. This, Texas Democrats took as a suggestion that they lodge the power to bar Negroes in the party itself or in the convention. Therefore, in the next called session, the power to bar Negroes was lodged in the state convention. This enactment was attacked by R. R. Grovey in the case of Grovey vs. Townsend which was filed in the justice of the peace court, Houston, and carried directly to the supreme court of the

However, before this case was launched and carried to the supreme court, several cases were filed in Texas and decided by Texas courts. There was the case of Mason vs. The Committee filed in Dallas; then, there was the case of C. A. Booker of San Antonio filed against the Democratic executive committee and the case of Bell vs. Hill filed in Beaumont. Also, Virgil Goree of Texarkana filed a case against the Democratic committee of his county. There were probably other cases filed and pending at this time.

The Bell case was the weakest case of them all and was being tried by white lawyers. Somehow, this case got to the Texas supreme court ahead of all of the other cases and Chief Justice Cureton, in deciding it against Mr. Bell, the Negro, took occasion to review the history of Democratic primaries of Texas as he saw it. He went back to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution to prove that the Democratic party was autonomous and had the right to fix the qualifications of its members.

When the Grovey vs. Townsend case reached the supreme court of the United States, that court took the reasoning of the supreme court of Texas as a basis for holding that the Democratic convention (the party) had the right to fix the qualifications and was a private party. This suit was not handled by the NAACP.

New Fight Launched

The supreme court's decision in Grovey vs. Townsend was a set-back to the hopes and aspirations of not only the Negroes of Texas, but to the Negroes of the whole South and of the United States. It looked as though the supreme court had closed the door forever to any chance of the Negroes breaking the primary which was disfranchising a million Negroes in Texas. But, it seems that hope springs eternal in the breast of Negroes and it wasn't long before they were again talking about carrying another suit. This spirit was reminiscent of the spirit of J. P. Grigsby, O. P. Dewalt, Dr. W. M. Drake, R. R. Grovey, Julius White, as well as the others named above and many others whom we do not now recall, who have constantly knocked at the door of justice for the right to an effective vote and refused to be permanently discouraged by any set-back.

Now, at last Negroes are again bringing suit with a view to carrying the question back to the supreme court of the United States. Since the decision in Grovey vs. Townsend, the Texas legislature has passed a law requiring that the executive committee of parties include as many women as men, thereby enlarging the executive committee to 62 instead of 31 as heretofore. They have also provided that a woman must be the vice-chairman of the executive committee and provided certain other offices for women. These enactments

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are but further evidence of the fact that the Democratic party in Texas is the official party and the only real party in Texas and that the officials of Texas are really the Democratic party.

Despite the repeated efforts of the court to make it appear that the action of the Democratic primary is merely the action of a private party which competes with other private parties, the records show conclusively that the Democratic party is the only party in Texas and that its actions are calculated to restrict Negroes and control the state just as definitely and certainly as the actions of Hitler and Mussolini are calculated to perpetuate themselves in office. There is only one party in Texas. For instance, in the current elections this summer, there was no Republican candidate for governor nor did any other party put up a candidate for governor except the Democrats. There were, on the ballot, a total of 133 officials to be voted upon and they had no competitor from other parties,-the only competition was within their own party ranks.

After the first primary election, there was a marked dropping off of interest in the run-off election of the Democratic primary. In the general election, which followed the primary election, there was scarcely a baker's dozen who participated because the election of the Democratic nominees was a foregone conclusion inasmuch as there were no

other nominees in the field.

Democratic Party Is the State

although theoretically the Thus, legislature enacts laws to cover all parties, actually and as a matter of fact, they enact laws to cover only the Democratic party because no other party takes part in the election in Texas. Also, because no other party takes part in the election, the only officials of Texas are Democrats and are thus amenable to Democratic primaries and the will of Democratic party members. The Democratic party, which the courts persist in counting as a private party, is in fact the official government of the state of Texas and, of course, makes rules for its advantage and to the discrimination and disadvantage of any others whom it wishes to bar, as it does Negroes.

Negro lawyers have seen this point but have somehow been unable to make the supreme court of the United States accept it as valid. R. D. Evans and A. S. Wells, both pioneer Negro lawyers, have hammered away at the point. Joining their forces, were a younger group of lawyers consisting of Oliver Johnson of San Antonio, Roger Mason and Duane Mason of Dallas, W. J. Durham of Sherman, James Nabrit and J. Alston Atkins of Houston. These men have served as the leaders and the



Around the table are the election judges. Standing, left to right: Hal Jedson, a hod-carrier; Carter Wesley, publisher of the Houston Informer; Sidney Hasgett, a hod-carrier and the man applying to vote; and R. R. Grovey, president of the Third Ward Civic club. Mr. Hasgett is making application to vote in the Democratic run-off primary and is being refused on the ground that "law forbids Negroes voting in the Democratic primary." Although this is supposed to be a private party's primary, the banks are closed for the day and it is generally counted as a holiday by a number of businesses in Texas

spearhead of repeated attacks against the cruel injustice of depriving Negroes of the right to an effective vote in Texas. In the instant case, W. J. Durham is again serving as the spearhead, having been elected as the resident counsel of the state to work with the national office of the N.A.A.C.P.

Among those who have been aggressively active in organizing fights against the primary in Texas during the last twelve months are: Rev. A. A. Lucas of Houston, Dr. C. A. Whittier and Luther Wiley of San Antonio, Dr. Everett Givens of Austin and A. Maceo Smith, Charlie Brackins, Rev. Maynard Jackson and Prof. Porter of Dallas. Up until this time last year, the late C. F. Richardson, Sr. of Houston had been the spearhead in the fight. Indeed, the last fight was in the name of C. F. Richardson, Sr. as plaintiff.

Saturday, August 24, marked the climax in the preparation of the primary suit which the New York office and the state organization of the N.A.A.C.P. will file in the federal court shortly, attacking the pernicious Democratic primary laws of Texas, which deprive Negroes of an effective vote. The suit will be filed in Houston, the home of the state president.

Entire State Backs Case

Behind the suit are the united efforts of all of the local N.A.A.C.P. branches of Texas under the direction of the national office. Several of the local branches had either begun suits or were making preparations to begin suits, when the national office suggested that all efforts be united to bring a well

(Continued on page 322)

EINHORN: Champion of Racial Equality

By Harry Essrig & Leonard Greenberg

". . . In contempt of the majesty of the people, an infuriated mob gained the upper hand for a few days. Like fiends from the lowest pools of hell they rushed through the streets, plundering and murdering, and in their Satanic phrenzy sparing neither age nor sex, 'smiting the mother with the children', whose only crime was their dark complexion-exhibiting lifted on poles the inanimate bodies of their victims as trophies of their unchecked license and finally completing their orgies by making a bon-fire of a Negro Orphan Asylum. And all this was done as a matter of course, in the name of peace and for the sake of slavery which the 'false Prophets', both Jew and Christian had announced as a divine institution."

Thus, in an eloquence characteristic of his flamboyant oratorical style, did the Rev. Dr. David Einhorn condemn the hectic Baltimore riot of April 19, 1861, in which the first blood of the Civil War was drawn, and the proslavery agitation, of which he was a bitter and sworn foe. In fact, this "pioneer among Jewish pulpit leaders in the Abolitionist cause and the one destined to bring the greatest sacrifices in its behalf" spoke from his own personal experiences, for his own safety and life were endangered by the wild disorder and violence that engulfed the city on that fatal day in April.

The pent-up emotions of the citizenry were suddenly released when the Sixth Massachusetts regiment, on its way to protect the Northern capital, Washington, was attacked by a hostile mob. The furore of excitement soon rose to a high pitch when in the ensuing scuffle four soldiers and nine citizens were killed and many wounded. "Finding the car tracks obstructed, the soldiers left the cars and made their way to the station on foot, fighting their way as they went and keeping back the surging mob with their bayonets. Finally, boarding the waiting train, they moved off amid hootings and taunts and pelted with flying stones. . . . Great excitement now reigned in Baltimore and the inhabitants decided not to permit the transportation of any more Union troops through the city for the purpose of making war on their Southern breth-

Forced to Flee City

Mob-rule continued to prevail, as the

One of the outstanding Aboliitionists was a Jewish rabbi, Dr. David Einhorn, whose fiery condemnations of slavery should be better known to Negro Americans

pro-slavery faction gained the upper hand and began to enforce its own reign of terror. The editor of the German periodical, Der Wecker, was mobbed for expressing Abolitionist sentiments, and his press destroyed. It was evident that the fury of slavery's protagonists would spare no one, not even the life of the spiritual leader of the Har Sinai Congregation. For David Einhorn was at once warned by soldiers and the police that his name was on the list of those proscribed on account of his sermons and editorials. Friends pleaded with him to fly the rebel flag from his housetops. At first the scholar and theologian, writer and author of a prayer-book, was adamant, but soon matters reached such a pass that a volunteer guard of young parishioners had to be stationed in his home. Only then did Einhorn yield to their entreaties and, removing his family from the scene of danger, arrived in Philadelphia after a long and arduous

After some time, order was restored under an edict of martial law in the city of Baltimore. But Einhorn was not destined to return to his pulpit, for just as he was preparing for the trip home after a short respite of enforced idleness, he received a letter from his congregation to the effect that "it would be most desirable for your own security as well as out of consideration for that of your congregational members if in the future everything that touched upon the stirring questions of the day were avoided from the pulpit."

Though the request was merely for a self-imposed censorship, Einhorn refused to brook any compromise with his conscience. He had been waging the struggle against the evil of slavery for too long a time to yield so selfishly and ignominiously. Indignantly he threw up his position and faced the future calmly and serenely, for as he later wrote in his Sinai magazine: "I could not doubt a moment what course to take."

Fortunately, however, but a few hours after his resignation, he was elected by

a "braver" congregation, the Keneseth Israel, of Philadelphia, to officiate in its pulpit. Thus for a second time in his long and colorful rabbinical career this fiery personality and champion of intellectual honesty refused to be silenced in the expression of his innermost convictions. He proved once again that whether he lived in the Old or New World, he was a man who "could scarcely be expected to trim and harmonize and compromise with conviction and right, no matter what policy may have suggested"

have suggested." Born in 1809 in a little Bavarian village, he showed remarkable intellectual capacity as a student in the Talmudic academy and in time became one of the pioneering spirits of the new Reform movement, which came into existence in Germany. A relentless fighter against the obscurantism of his age who knew no fear in matters of principle, he soon evoked the opposition of his more conservative opponents in his Temple at Pesth, Austria. When he refused to adapt his views to the political expediency of the day, the Imperial Government closed the Temple on account of "alleged revolutionary tendencies" in matters of faith. It was then that the young religious radical cast his eyes on the promise that was beckoning all free souls and lovers of liberty in the New World.

A Call to the New World

For in 1855, the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore extended an invitation to David Einhorn to occupy its pulpit. He had no inkling that he was entering upon an era of new trials and martyrdom. Yet it was not long before he, too, was embroiled in the bitter slavery agitation that was rocking the foundation of the American commonwealth. Once convinced of the wisdom of his views, he became an outspoken Abolitionist in heart and in practice. "For him the institution of slavery was not merely a social crime, a violation of the American principle of liberty and human equality; it was the greatest possible crime against God in whose image man is made."

The very next year after his arrival in America, Einhorn hailed, in the German monthly, Sinai, which he founded and edited, the rapid rise of the so-called "black Republican party." "We cannot share the fears," he wrote,

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Ju ce su "of those who think that the triumph of this party would lead to the dissolution of the Union if only for the reason that if the Union in fact rests on such a thoroughly immoral basis, it would appear to be neither capable of surviving nor fit to survive." Thus, from the very beginning, this spiritual leader placed the weight of his influence and prestige on the side of progress, and this done in a city teeming with rebel sympathizers.

In the December, 1856, issue, however, he declared that no further room could be afforded in the periodical for a consideration of the slavery topic. This announcement, on the other hand, followed a sharp rebuke of the statement that the Negroes are not created completely in the image of God. It read: "We are in no way concerned here with the question of more or less, but only with the question whether the Negro possesses above all human dignity, the quality of being created in God's image, who, as such, may lay claim to the first and most holy of all human rights-the rights to be his own master, to be regarded not as a thing but as a person-in the same manner as the rest of God's children.'

"Animal" Doctrine Stirs Him

Yet Einhorn found it impossible to maintain his promise of silence on the most controversial issue of the day. The spell was broken when at the general convention in Cleveland, the Presbytery of Lexington, Mississippi, announced officially that "slave holding is a divine command, sanctified through the word of the Bible . . . the Negro is no human being and has no rights which a white person would have to respect . . . our mission as priests and directors of the Church of Christ is a mission for people and not for animals. . . ." Einhorn then declared that sooner or later the slavery controversy would take on a purely religious character, and become a struggle between the spirit and the letter of the Bible.

Similarly, when the Rev. Morris Raphall of New York defended the institution of slavery in the name of both Mosaic and Rabbinical law in a sermon delivered on the national fast day, January 4th, 1861, Einhorn at once launched a severe attack against such a view. Raphall's sermon had made a profound impression on the country and was even printed in pamphlet form. Since it was the only Jewish pronouncement contained in the volume of Fast Day Sermons, Einhorn was apprehensive lest Raphall's interpretation of Judaism as sanctioning slavery be accepted as the official Jewish view on the subject. Although other leaders of the Reform movement in this country, such

as Wise, merely considered the sermon untimely, Einhorn threw caution to the winds "in his righteous indignation at this perversion of the position of Judaism and at such endeavors to stem the great moral awakening by appeals to

religion against it." In the meantime, the storm was gathering on the horizon of this southern city, which served as the principal market place for the planters of Virginia. Political disorders became rampant. The Know Nothing Party got a grip on the life of the town and the safety of avowed abolitionists was seriously endangered. Yet, here in the city where Lundy had been mobbed Garrison imprisoned, another champion of racial equality was witnessing the rising tide of mob passion and intolerance. As Einhorn later wrote in explanation of his flight from Baltimore, "Already from the beginning of the present political movement, the feeling surged through me that the air had become too sultry in Baltimore for those men who came to America in order to be able to speak and write freely and to escape from the force of the knout. Truths (that are) in any way related to the burning slavery question have lost their former harmlessness and begun . . . to be considered even as criminal." Yet despite the gathering whirlpool of terror and intimidation, this 'clearheaded, uncompromising and unfaltering standard bearer of Reform Judaism" stood his ground in the very trying days of the Union as we have seen and was the uncrowned victor in the end.

Urged Jews to Fight Slavery

Even as rabbi in Philadelphia, at a time when the great issue of the times was meeting its solution on the battlefields of the nation, he continued to take up the cudgels in defense of the Abolitionist cause. He was compelled to discontinue his periodical after an existence of seven years and to make another offer on the altar of his views. For, as he wrote, Sinai died "in the battle against slavery. This battle cost me half of my subscribers." Yet in his sermons there still resounded an undertone of firm faith in the equality of all men. Thus, in his July 4, 1861 address, he declared: "Just as David, the weak, slew Goliath, the powerful, so will the forces of Union and Abolition slay the forces of Disunion and Slavery. And who has more at stake concerning the question whether freedom or slavery ought to become the basis of our state life than our brethren, who today in most of the lands of the old world still languish under the burden of slavery?

His Thanksgiving Day Sermon of 1863, in which he castigated the Southern aristocracy and rallied his listeners to aid the cause of the Union, was translated from the German and sold as a pamphlet for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, a war time medical unit. Einhorn was also offered the position of Jewish chaplain during the war but declined this honor. He was, however, elected an honorary member of the Union League Club of Philadelphia for

his abolitionist views.

No finer tribute can be paid to the memory of this courageous humanitarian and lover of racial equality than that delivered by Emil G. Hirsch on the occasion of the centenary of David Einhorn's birth: "He who had so often thanked the God of his fathers for having led his ancestors from bondage to freedom, deemed silence treason and blasphemy, when millions of human beings were held as slaves, when the highest tribunal of the land legalized the capture of the fugitive slaves in free states, ignoring the explicit prohibition of such proceeding in the Pentateuch. ... Had his been the vernacular of the land, he would have been mentioned alongside Garrison, Phillips, Barker, Beecher, the valiant champion of the rights of man, and the other men of the herald voice, who stirred to heroic deeds the thousands and thousands that went out to die that the Union might live.'

In these days, when racial equality is again on the agenda of the times, the words and deeds of Einhorn should live once again in our thoughts.

This is the first of three articles on Jewish leaders who have fought for true democracy in The other America. two will be by Rabbi Essrig. The next in the series will be "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown."

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Here Hung Isleno for Living with a Brown

By Stetson Kennedy

L VERY time I pass in front of the Cuban Club I think of Isleno. He was a good friend to me, a good friend to everybody. Yesterday I was down to the beach and seen the palm tree where he was hung. It was the first tree to die from the blight that's killing all the palms on the island. People say the island is cursed and that's why there has been so much bad luck: the hurricane, factories moving away, relief, WPA, the layoffs, and so many people not having to eat.

Isleno's curse has already killed five of the Ku Klux Klansmen who beat and hung him. He saw who they were, called them by name, and cursed them for horrible deaths in revenge. Isleno shot the Klan leader himself, one Klansman got blowed up by dynamite while he was working on the bridges, another was ground to pieces under his boat when it went on a reef, and died of TB, and another went fishing and never came

I can tell you the story as good as anybody. Isleno was a Spaniard who came here from the Canary Islands; that's why we called him "Isleno." He owned a little coffee shop and had a good business, but he was one of them kinda men what likes to spend their money for a good time in this life. He never caused nobody no trouble; he just liked to be happy and have a big time.

He began living with a brown—a mulatto girl. I mean she was a pretty thing, for true! We called her Rosita Negra, Little Black Rose. She and Isleno lived in a room in back of the coffee shop. People talked about him living with a brown, but nobody didn't really think much about it. The way I think it, a man's got a right to live with any kinda woman he wants to; if he wants to live with a brown, that's his business.

About the Klan—you're not a member of the Klan are you? You oughta be ashamed if you are. I think if a man has anything against another man he ought to go up to his face and tell him, and not get a whole crowd of mens together and hide their faces under pillow cases.

Anybody in town can tell you who them Klan fellows are. I know em all. Some of the very ones that hung Isleno, I've seen em over in the Negro "jungle" houses myself. They all jump the fence and put horns on their wives every chance they get. When they see

This true story was awarded Special Mention in the Documentary Writing Contest conducted by Direction, and appeared in the summer issue of that magazine. We republish it here with the permission of the editors of Direction

me in a jungle house they try to hide their faces, but I go right up to em and slap em on the back and say, "Whacha say, old boy? What're you doing here?" That's what makes me so mad: them men killed Isleno for doing the same thing they do. Only difference was, Isleno wasn't ashamed of it.

WELL, the Klan sent Isleno a warning to get Rosita out of his house. But Isleno wasn't afraid of nobody; he had plenty cojones, all right! He was a big-big man, strong as a ox. When he got that warning he just started keeping his gun under the counter of his shop.

Then one night—it was Christmas Eve of 1935—the Ku Klux Klan came marching down Duval Street, all dressed in white robes with hoods over their faces and carrying torches. They marched straight for Isleno's coffee shop. He was in bed with Rosita when somebody came and warned him that the Klan was coming. He ran for his gun, but it was gone; somebody had stolen it.

About that time the Klansmen came and grabbed him. He put up an awful fight, but they finally got him tied, and dragged him down to the beach, stripped him, and beat him till his kidneys burst and the blood ran out. Isleno fought so hard he got free of the ropes and tore the masks off half a dozen of the men. He cursed em all, swore he'd be revenged and that they'd all die horrible deaths. They beat him some more until

he was unconscious, and then hung him up in the palm tree.

He was left for dead but he came to

He was left for dead but he came to his senses and got loose from the rope somehow, and limped all the way back to his coffee shop.

The next morning was Christmas morning, and when I heard that Isleno was to his shop I went to see him. Madre de Dios, his back was a pitiful sight! It looked like one of those red cube steaks that has been diced to make it tender. It was a shame the way they had beat that man! He was suffering something terrible from the pain of his busted kidneys. A lot of his friends was there to see him, but I couldn't stand it and left.

That afternoon Mr. Weiss—Mr. Weiss was leader of the Klan and a very prominent man—was walking past the Cuban Club with his arms full of presents for Christmas. When he stepped across the alley Isleno came out, his pants all bloody in front, and with a revolver in his hands. He shot Mr. Weiss in the belly five times, and Mr. Weiss fell on the sidewalk, begging Isleno not to shoot again.

But Isleno stood there and put five more bullets in the gun and shot Mr. Weiss five more times. Then he climbed up in the attic of a vacant house and barricaded himself in. The police and sheriff and deputies and national guards surrounded the place, but Isleno kept them all back with his shooting. The sheriff asked him to surrender, but Isleno said he would surrender only to the military commander.

Isleno had lought for the United States in the World War, and had won some kind of a medal.

So the military commander came and promised Isleno protection. Well, as soon as Isleno gave himself up, the sheriff promised the military man he would protect Isleno if he would turn him over to his custody. So the sheriff took Isleno upstairs in the jail where they beat him some more. After he was unconscious they grabbed him by the heels and dragged him down those iron steps, his head cracking like an egg on every step.

They tied a rope around his neck and pulled his body behind an automobile through the streets and down to the beach. Isleno was already plenty dead, but they hung his body up in the palm tree again where it stayed I don't know how long before the buzzards and smell got so bad they had to cut it down.

NEXT MONTH

A tender short story: "Joe Charles King," by Vera L. Williams Crisis

back

England's West Indian Slums

By George Padmore

FTER very considerable delay the British Imperial Government issued in March last the recommendations of the West Indian Royal Commission, but significantly failed to make public the Commission's findings. The fact that the Government was forced to suppress the evidence of its own Commission is in itself the gravest indictment of its imperialist misrule. They dare not let the British people know the truth and are accordingly obliged to imitate Dr. Goebbels. All attempts to whitewash Colonial administration, however, are of little avail, since it is impossible to conceal the shocking conditions which prevail.

Slums of the Empire

Every report-Royal or local-since the last World War tells the same story -a story of unmitigated widespread poverty, of disease, starvation and stark exploitation. Not without reason, Lloyd George has referred to the West Indies as "slums of the Empire."

This description can with equal truth be applied to other Colonies, even on the basis of conservative official reports. Thus the report of the Colonial Office Committee on Nutrition (published in 1939) says inter alia "that almost everywhere health is impaired to a greater or lesser degree by malnutrition, and in most parts insufficient wealth, either in food or in money, to supply requirements." The Report is, in fact, a lengthy catalogue of poverty and squalor. In very few Colonies does the income of the native peasant exceed £5 a year!

Suppressed Facts

Describing conditions witnessed by members of the Royal Commission, the "Jamaica Standard" writes: "At the first house visited it was pointed out that a father, a mother and a child would sleep in one bed while the rest of the children slept on the floor underneath. There was one small pit latrine for four families.

"The residents crowded around the Commissioners, shouting: 'We are suffering greatly, sir, and want help right now. We are all starving, we cannot get work and the Government won't do anything for us.

"The Commissioners then walked

After a century of "freedom" England's West Indian subjects are so pauperized, malnourished and ill-housed that the British colonial office refuses to publish the findings of its recent West Indian Royal Commission. New interest in the future of these colonies was aroused by discussions at the recent Conference of Pan-American Nations at Havana, Cuba, concerning their ultimate disposition

down Ackee Walk, 40 acres of tumbledown shacks without ventilation or the most elementary sanitation. Barracklike, with as many as fifteen rooms in one range, they had made from bits of wood from motor packing cases, tin or old boards, with roofs of dry coconut palms. Improvised beds on which five or more persons slept were frequent here, and many more slept on the floor There was no ventilation underneath.



Market Day, Jamaica

in any of the rooms and some were completely dark.

"At Orange Bay the Commissioners saw people living in huts the walls of which were bamboo knitted together as closely as human hands were capable; the ceilings were made from dry crisp coconut branches which shifted their positions with every wind. The floor measured 8 feet by 6 feet. The hut was 5 feet high. Two openings served as windows, and a third, stretching from the ground to the roof, was the door. A threadbare curtain divided it into two rooms. It perched perilously on eight concrete slabs, two at each corner. In this hut lived nine people, a man, his wife and seven children. They had no water and no latrine. There were two beds. The parents slept in one, and as many of the children as could hold on in the other. The rest used the

Governor Shocked

In a graphic description of these and other similarly sordid conditions, the Governor of Trinidad, Sir Murchison Fletcher, was forced publicly to condemn them as shocking and disgrace-ful. He declared that "the white employing class will find a shield far surer in showing sympathy to the coloured workers than in a forest of bayonets.'

Referring to the report of a Dutch doctor from the Dutch East Indies, Sir Murchison said: "He was obviously shocked by the evidence of malnutrition. ... He informed me that though he had twenty years' experience in the Dutch East Indies and although he had firsthand knowledge of conditions resulting from vitamin deficiencies, he had never seen such distressing conditions as existed here among the East Indian labouring population, where apparently men and women suffered from the absence of all the known vitamins. . . . Every adult over the age of 20 years was affected and the working life of the population was reduced by at least 50

The Governor made an appeal to the sugar industry, which he declared had been placed in a position of prosperous stability due to the action of the British taxpayers. He told its representatives in the Legislative Assembly, "I hurriedly looked up some figures last night and I find that with respect to last year (1938-the Usine Ste Madeleine

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paid 5½ per cent dividend, Caroni Sugar Estate 6 per cent and Orange Grove 7½ per cent and arrears of preferential shares). I do appeal to that industry to examine themselves and see whether they cannot spare something more for labour."

Profiteers Indignant

The sugar kings and oil barons were indignant. They replied to the Governor by securing his recall to Britain, where he was sacked by Lord Harlech, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The adamancy of vested interests to maintain its profits at the expense of labour in the West Indies was destined to have but one result. Disturbances grew up all over the West Indies, and a Royal Commission was sent to investigate the causes which were only too obvious.

In consequence of certain recommendations made by this Commission, the Government, with much trumpeting and self-congratulation, announced that it would appropriate a niggardly sum of £1,000,000 annually for a period of twenty years for the purpose of initiating public health, housing, slum clearance, social welfare and agricultural reforms throughout the West Indies. This gesture could, however, only be regarded as a sop to the natives.

The scheme, moreover, provided for the setting up of a central organization under a Comptroller General and an Inspector General of Agriculture, with a staff of European advisers, specialists and experts, to salary whom a sum of £100,000 was voted. More jobs for "Empire Builders"! It has been truly said that the colonies provide a form of outdoor relief for the sons of the British upper-class.

Social Services Shelved

With the changes in the British Cabinet, resulting in the appointment of Lord Lloyd-die-hard Tory imperialist and admirer of Mussolini-as Colonial Secretary, and the urgent need of husbanding all resources in the interests of the war, instructions have been given to all Colonial Governors not to expect any of the backsheesh indicated in the scheme put forward earlier in the year. On the contrary, it was the duty of Governors to cut down on such existing social services as there were-education, public health, etc.—as part of the war economy. It was now the duty of the colonies to send what they could in money and materials to assist the Mother Country to destroy foreign Fascism. Poverty-stricken Trinidad, where the better part of the working population go continually hungry and ragged, has voted £500,000 towards

Britain's war efforts! Other islands have done likewise.

In support of Lord Lloyd's policy, Colonel Wedgwood, in discussing the Colonial Development Bill in the House of Commons, on May 21st, told the Members that it was "stillborn." That "all this talk about helping the colonies was play-acting."

In elaborating his standpoint, Colonel Wedgwood stated that "Of course, there will be no £1,000,000 a year spent. Even when the war is ended we shall not have £1,000,000 to spend on Colonies. We shall want every penny for aeroplanes and battleships and tanks; and it is recognized in the preface to the Bill. . . . And if there is money spent, it will not benefit the Colonies but those people who own the land."

Landlords Get Benefits

The sting is in these last words, for in effect, the beneficiaries under the scheme would have been chiefly the landowners and investors. This is quite evident in the fact that concurrently with the West Indian Scheme, the Government proposed a similar plan embracing the whole Colonial Empire, to be financed through the Colonial Development Fund, which was to be increased from £1,000,000 to £5,000,000 for a period of ten years.

This Fund has in the past been used for building roads, railways, docks, warehouses and other capital undertakings which serve the direct interests of the European settlers, plantation and mining companies, and there would be no reason to suppose that increased resources would not be drawn upon for similar purposes. For this is what the imperialists understand as "colonial development."

The Kenya Government has borrowed millions from the Colonial Development Fund in recent years, very little of which has been spent upon native education, health, housing or agriculture.

Self-Government Plea

On the other hand, thousands of pounds have been spent in developing the Highlands, from which the Europeans have legally excluded non-Europeans — Africans and Indians. Since the whites control the legislature they can influence expenditure of public funds in their own interests, for economic control provides political levers. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the West Indies Report ignores the vital question of political democracy.

The constitutional changes urged upon the Commission in Memoranda submitted by the International African Service Bureau, the Trinidad Labour

Party, and other West Indian political organizations, have been relentlessly ignored. Why?

The Commissioners know as well as we do that as long as the present system of Crown Colony Government exists the common people will have absolutely no voice in shaping public policy and governing revenue so that it is used to promote their economic and social well-being. Under the present system West Indian legislative and executive councils—the chief organ of government—are completely dominated by European officials, planters, merchants, oil-speculators and share-pushers.

The result is that every effort made during the last hundred years by the common people to secure reforms have been defeated.

Take, for instance, the question of land settlement, the most vital issue facing a landless peasantry. The Royal Commission recommends the development of local food-growing schemes and the settlement of people on small homesteads in order to relieve unemployment in the towns.

Plantocracy Versus Peasantry

Commenting upon this recommendation, a previous Royal Commission, sent out to the West Indies in 1896-7, observed that:

"The settlement of the labourer on the land has not, as a rule, been viewed with favour in the past by persons interested in sugar estates. What suited them best was a large supply of labourers entirely dependent upon being able to find work on estates and consequently subject to their control and willing to work for low wages. . . .

work for low wages. . . .

"No reform affords so good a prospect for the permanent welfare in the future of the West Indies as the settlement of the labouring population on the land as small peasant proprietors, and in many places this is the only means by which the population can in future be supported."

This recommendation was made fortythree years ago. But the natives are still waiting for the promised piece of land on which to grow food. The planters will always succeed in sabotaging such reforms so long as their political power remains unbroken. If the West Indies are ever to advance the plantocracy must be dislodged from its political seat of power.

More Real Democracy

How is this to be done?

1. Give the West Indian peoples universal adult suffrage.

2. Abolish the nomination of handpicked members to legislative, executive

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National Defense Labor Problems

The Weaver Appointment

HE appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as an Administrative Assistant to Dr. Floyd W. Reeves of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense has a special significance; but properly to appreciate this significance, one must first have a picture of the Commission and Dr. Weaver's place in it.

The Advisory Commission is primarily a policy-making, coordinating body made up of seven Commissioners. Each of these is assigned a special field in the defense program and has a staff which is responsible for establishing policy and coordinating all steps in his particular field. Commissioner Sidney Hillman is responsible for the most important problem before the Commission, from the Negro viewpoint - the employment problem. Dr. Reeves, Mr. Hillman's Executive Assistant, heads the Labor Supply Division and is responsible for the training of needed labor and the supplying of trained labor to industries engaged in defense production. Dr. Reeves has seven administrative assistants who work closely with him and Mr. Hillman, and who formulate policies for these phases of the work. Attached to his staff as coordinators are representatives of the Office of Education, the Bureau of Employment Security, the Works Projects Administration, and the other cooperating agencies which are charged with the actual administration of the programs of training and placing labor for national defense industries. The Labor Supply Division keeps informed of the activities of these agencies, correlates their programs, and formulates policies for the smooth and effective operation of their various functions.

Significant is the fact that, among those at the conference tables and in the policy-making deliberations of the Labor Supply Division there is a Negro, Dr. Weaver. In his capacity as Administrative Assistant he is actively concerned, first, with the general defense program and its effective operation. His special interest is to devise means and techniques which will facilitate the equitable participation of Negroes in the program and provide for their integration into all the non-military phases of national defense. Along with the other members of the staff, Dr. Weaver will have at all times a complete picture of developments in training and labor supply and an opportunity to participate in planning programs to deal with probOne of the most important phases of the defense program is labor supply for industrial plants holding government contracts. Dr. Weaver's special job is to see that Negro workers are integrated into the program

lems which may arise. He will know how Negroes are participating in the program; he will be in a position to work for the correction of inequalities and to influence the future of the program to the end that inequalities may occur with diminishing frequency and ultimately, it is hoped, be wiped out altogether. When matters of employment and training for national defense are discussed and decided, he will be on the job safeguarding the interests of Negroes.

Experienced in Field

Significant also is the fact that the person appointed to this job was chosen because of his demonstrative ability and accomplishments in integrating Negroes into Federal Government programs. Dr. Weaver was Adviser on Negro Affairs in the Department of the Interior, and later a Special Assistant to



Press Bureau Photo

Dr. R. C. Weaver

the Administrator, in Charge of Racial Relations, in the U.S. Housing Authority. As Adviser in the Interior, he was outstanding in securing promotions for long-neglected Negro employees, job opportunities for Negro technical men who had theretofore been consistently overlooked, and other benefits for colored citizens from programs under the jurisdiction of the Public Works Administration and the Interior Department. Perhaps his most valuable services were in the field of Negro labor. In this connection he devised a prima facie criterion for non-discrimination which proved to be the most effective approach used by the Federal Government to secure job opportunities for skilled Negroes on large-scale federal construction. Also, while in the Interior Department Dr. Weaver sponsored and administered a WPA project which employed 1800 Negro white-collar workers and spent \$500,000. In 1935 he was invited by TVA to make a survey of its racial policy, and in 1937 he was named as a consultant to the President's Advisory Commission on Education.

With Housing Authority

When the USHA was established, Dr. Weaver was called to direct the Office of Racial Relations. In this capacity he was in a position to formulate racial policy in public housing. As a result of his efforts and the support of USHA officials, a more fair and equitable racial policy now exists in USHA than in any other branch of the Federal Government. On the basis of need, Negroes are enjoying equitable benefits from public housing, colored technical men are designing projects and supervising construction, colored mechanics are employed on construction, and Negro managers are employed for the completed projects.

Dr. Weaver's appointment to the Advisory Commission would therefore seem to indicate a growing realization on the part of the Federal Government that colored Americans must be given the serious consideration they demand, and that their interests, along with the interests of other Americans, must be faithfully guarded in the current period of national emergency. It would also seem to indicate a realization on the part of the Government that Negroes are capable of acting in other than ad-

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A Page of Verse

American Black Womanhood

By ETHEL RILEY CLARK

I have known slave marts Curtained with the grief of severed ties, Crimson with the wounds of muted pain, Carnal with the curse of vile men's hands Searing my outraged, cringing flesh With brands four generations deep.

In New Orleans' famed market place I stood, In Baltimore, Savannah, Louisville, Straining mulatto babies to my breast, Torrents of throttled pleas damned in my throat, While calloused owners bartered them and me To satisfy a pressing gambling debt.

Today I stand in new slave marts,— Street corners, steps, dead office files, Begging to sell my ordered toil At living wage, but none gives heed; My talents, skills, inherent rights. Lost in the darkness of my skin.

I'm Laughing

By MARY E. WOMBLE

I'm watching the Havana Conference, I'm list'ning to the conference, I'm watching . . . list'ning , . .

waiting....
And I'm laughinglaughing
Yes ... I'm laughing,
At the conference....

This great United States, Who holds her head so high, This free proud white America, With her democratic cry— * Is courting her dark neighbors, In terms of brother—sister, Yea—coaxing . . .

pleading . . .
begging . . .
The dark-skins—yea, the Latins,

To nestle close to Mother,
To me your foster Mother,
So that the wolves of Europe
Will not devour my children,
My children's crops and produce,
My children's wealth in minerals
My children's trade and commerce. . . .

So laugh with me a dark-skin,
A sin child of America,
Who is watching . . .
list'ning . . .
knowing . .
How this free proud white America
Hates her pleading . . .
coaxing . . .
begging . .
To the shaded southern neighbors,
And I'm laughing . laughing . . . laughing
I'm laughing

TWO POEMS

By GENEVIEVE TAGGARD

I. Spirituals

My way's cloudy, I cry out,
Cloudy, Lord.
Who found this way to speak?
Where is this poet's grave?
South is his burying ground. River Mississippi wide
Washes his dust along.

The gulf dances level
Sapphire blue near his elbow, where his bones
Sleep in the dust of song, where we lift up our voices
Crying with the dark man when we cry
My way's cloudy.

II. Proud Day

(Marian Anderson on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial)

Our sister sang on the Lincoln steps. Proud Day.
We came to hear our sister sing. Proud Day.
Voice out of depths, poise with memory,
What goodness, what splendor lay long under foot!
Our sister with a lasso of sorrow and triumph
Caught America, made it listen. Proud day.
The peaceful Lincoln sat so still. Proud day.
Waiting the Republic to be born again. Proud day.
Never, never forget how the dark people rewarded us
Giving out of their want and their little freedom
This blazing star.
Something spoke in my patriot heart. Proud day.

Love

By JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

Who is Justice? I would like to know, Whom so ever she is, I could love her so. I could love her, though my race So seldom looks upon her face.

Explanation

By John Henrik Clarke

A smile of hope
And a frown of despair;
A hangman's rope
And a scornful stare;
This, too, is America, you see . . .
But not what America
Was meant to be.

Tools Unaware

By JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

'Twas more than a man hung, Unjustly, on Georgia's tree; With that man, unconsciously, They hang humanity.
'Twas more than an odor that passed When the wind blew through the trees: 'Twas Justice, dead and withered . . . Like a heap of Autumn leaves.

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The Willkie Chicago Speech

BECAUSE the Republicans, and especially the Negro workers for Wendell L. Willkie for President, regard his Chicago speech of September 13 as an outstanding pronouncement on matters affecting the Negro, The Crisis presents for the information of its readers the official text as released by the Republican publicity committee:

"I promise to do away with the theory that relief is a Negro reservation. I will abolish the discrimination in the administration of relief and I will strive to find creative work for the Negro as well as for every other man. It is indispensable that the leadership of America, in Government, in industry and in labor, give the Negro an opportunity to be creative and to participate in the great enterprises of American life. I hope that the Government, Capital and Labor will co-operate in providing such opportunity.

"I want to say that no man in America looks upon the hideous crime of lynching with more condemnation than I do. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil must be enacted.

"Now, in addition to that, in the administration of the affairs of Government during this administration, which has talked in fine words about Democracy but practiced little of it in certain departments in Washington, regular Jim Crow departments have been created. I say to you that under my administration there shall be no discrimination between people because of race, creed or color in the appointments to Federal positions. That man who serves as my subordinate who makes such discrimination will be fired on the spot.

"Now, if there is anything about my language—it is just simple everyday language—that anybody does not understand, it has no Harvard lilt to it, then speak up and I will restate it. I will carry out the Republican platform pledge to the Negro by seeing to it that Jim Crow departments in the Federal government, and in the divisions which the New Deal created by executive decree, are eliminated, and that colored citizens are appointed to any branch of the Federal Civil Service to which they are qualified.

"I will give the Negro a chance to be heard before Government takes its decisions affecting his welfare and rights denied under the New Deal. It is my profound conviction that the Democratic

party is incapable of protecting the civil liberties in this country in times of stress, and I believe that the colored citizen above all others needs the leadership that can protect the civil liberties of every group. I pledge myself to give you such leadership.

"Now, let me say to you that I am a complete believer in Democracy, and I think it not only the most pleasant way of life, but I think it the most effective way of life. I think that we must make ir so effective that no proletarian dictator will seek or dare to strike us. But we cannot make it so effective against those proletarian rulers if we deprive ourselves of the opportunities and the abilities and the enterprise of 10 per cent of our population.

"I summon all of you people here today to the great crusade of calling America back to its finer principle, calling it back to effectiveness. I ask all of you colored people to join with me because you know better than any others the price of disunity and prejudice

dice.
"I pledge you that I will never preach intolerance. Intolerance is what has torn the world to pieces in this armed conflict of destruction.

"I call all Americans — Colored, White, Jews, Catholics and Christians into a great United America to make this the most glorious place in the world."

Although the above text, released by the Republican State Committee of New York is called in the covering letter "a complete transcription of Mr. Willkie's remarks" there is published in The Call, of Kansas City, Mo., another text which contains the paragraph quoted below. The Call is "all out" for Willkie.

"I pledge to you what I want to do with America is to stop boondoggling, stop extravagant expenditures, stop theorists, stop words and start to work. I want to start to turn the wheels of industry, and produce, produce, produce! The reason Hitler crushed France is because Hitler produced and France failed to produce. The reason that London failed under the regime of Chamberlain is because they talked and Germany produced, and produced, and produced! And I want to turn America into a great production, a great production of defense material, a great production of those things that create the satisfaction in life and are really the wealth of the people. And if we start on a program such as that, there is work for all of us in this great democracy; there is gainful work for all of us; there is profitable work for all of us; there is enough work for all of us."

NEXT MONTH

In the November issue, out October 26, will be an editorial entitled: The Roosevelt Record.

A discussion of Mr. Willkie's Chicago speech and his other remarks bearing on the race question will be found on page 311.

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(Continued from page 313)

considered case instead of many hastily gotten up cases. The national office pointed out that poor cases encouraged poor decisions and helped to make it more difficult to attack the primary law.

In a series of meetings, all of these forces were organized and united. Then at the state meeting in Corpus Christi in May, the state organization assumed the responsibility and leadership of all of the forces interested in attacking the primary law. Anticipating this action, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the New York office, had been invited to Texas. Mr. Marshall advised with the state organization and was present when that organization voted to prosecute the suit in cooperation with and under the direction of the national office.

It was voted to raise \$8,000 to cover all expenses. The machinery was organized for that purpose at the Corpus Christi meeting. Dr. C. A. Whittier of San Antonio was made director of the drive to raise the money. Quotas were set for the respective branches and the fund campaign got under way.

About the same time, W. J. Durham, who had been selected to head the state forces, began to prepare his trial brief and petition in collaboration with Mr. Marshall. The attack is being based on broader grounds and many new angles. Much research has been done in preparation for filing this suit. When the contemplated plaintiff made application Saturday, August 24, to vote in the Democratic primary and was refused, he rounded out the necessary details and laid the predicate for the suit.

It had been announced previously that the suit would be filed immediately after July 15. These plans were changed because the lawyers found that the plaintiff would not have been denied the right to vote on that date. However, the delay in filing the suit slowed up the campaign to raise funds to some extent. But Dr. Whittier announces that he is getting that straightened out and the local branches are getting back in stride. Already Houston's whole quota has been subscribed and Rev. Lucas announces that he expects to have it collected long before the time limit. Dallas has been slower launching its campaign than any other branch, but since Dallas has always been known to pay its share of any funds for statewide purposes, no concern has been felt over the delay. San Antonio has raised and remitted to the Treasurer \$308 of its quota. Also, Tyler has sent in over

So it may be said that Texas Negroes are alert and grim in this fight for their political rights. The slogan of both Dr. Whittier and Rev. Lucas is "Full Speed Ahead!"

Weaver

(Continued from page 319)

visory and special jobs in the Government-that they can handle administrative jobs with credit and honor.

Citizens Must Aid

There is heartening significance, therefore, in this appointment; but we must not overlook the fact that it is but one part of the dual mechanism required to achieve equity for Negroes in the nonmilitary phases of the defense program. Dr. Weaver will work within the Commission; but if his efforts are to be effective they must be supported by intelligent, simultaneous action from without. The other part of the required dual mechanism is concerted effort on the part of Negroes and their friends in the various local communities to see that Negroes are included in local defense programs. Such effort from within and pressure from without should result in something at least approximating the equitable participation of Negroes in this phase of the defense program, and the achievement by the United States of some honest democracy in these times when democracy is being put to its most gruelling test.

Perhaps Dr. Weaver's appointment will produce the added significance of focusing a stronger spotlight on the need for a Negro representative in the military councils of America's defense program. If America is to be totally defended, it will require the total allegiance of its entire population on two fronts—the military and non-military. Dr. Weaver's appointment on one front, the non-military, is significant to the Negro but only half recognition of him. The Army, Navy, and Civil Aeronautics Authority must recognize him on the military front, and so prove total recognition, before America can expect total allegiance on the part of its 13 million Negroes.

West Indies

(Continued from page 318)

and other administrative councils. 3. Abolish property qualifications for

membership of such bodies.

4. Institute a system of popular control over the expenditure of public funds.

In brief, give the people less Crown Colony bureaucracy and more real The West Indian peoples democracy. are entitled to full self-determination. If they are not qualified after three hundred years of British tutelage, then it is time for Britain to get out. They certainly cannot make a greater mess of things than their imperialist masters have done. These so-called trustees dare not give an account of their stewardship to the British people. They censor their own Report, and like true autocrats take refuge behind the exigencies of war.

When they do promise to dole out niggardly sums, it is only as a bribe to their victims to try and create the impression that they intend to liquidate in the future "those evil things-bad faith, brute force, oppression and persecution" within their Colonial Empire.

The West Indian people, however, will not be deceived by all their hypocrisy. They know from very bitter experience that imperialism and true democracy are incompatible, and for them no amount of Whitehall "paternalism" can whitewash Britain's crimes.

Cleveland Names First Junior High Principal

Russell H. Davis has been appointed by the Cleveland, O., school board as principal of Central Junior high school. It is the first time a colored person has held the principalship of a junior high school in that city. Mr. Davis is a native of Cleveland and was graduated from Central high school there in 1916. He is a graduate of Adelbert college, Western Reserve university, and of Case School of Applied Sciences, Cleveland. O. He has taught science in Kannard Junior high school and Central High.

Mr. Davis is a brother of Harry E. Davis, former member of the Cleveland Civil Service Commission and member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.

Publishers Want Material

The Wilmarth Publishing Company of 42 East 53rd Street, New York City, which was established in 1915, is now considering manuscripts for immediate publication. They are particularly interested in the works of new writers. They will consider novels, biographies, poetry, essays, historical works, collections of short stories, travel, and plays.

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

A Terrible Detail

Chronicle, Detroit, Mich.

WE have been informed that last Sunday while President Roosevelt led the nation in devout prayer for world peace, a Negro youth who had been suspected of attacking a white girl was boldly taken out of jail in La-Grange, Ga., and summarily lynched. While America stands aghast over the horrors that are befalling Europe it may appear to some that the death of a poor despised black youth is but a detail in the scheme of these times. This wanton murder, however, is a terrible detail of supreme importance.

The action of superseding the established laws is fundamentally to advocate the overthrow of the government. No radical in all of American history has shown the audacity of the Southern lynchers. In LaGrange, Ga., the white hoodlums invaded the jail, took the prisoner out of the custody of the police and committed a cold-blooded murder, all this because the boy was merely suspected of a crime.

We have heard it said countless times in recent months that democracy is no longer safe in Europe. Indeed, democracy has never been safe in the South. Our government which is called a government of laws and not of men seems to be non-existent, not only is there no democracy but there is no government at all. A mad gang rules supreme without fear of law or God.

It seems to us that our first line of defense of our democracy may well be at home where anti-democratic elements are growing stronger. Hitler is a piker compared to the mob leader in Dixie. While we are building a vast fortress around the Western hemisphere to save our country, we do nothing about the real enemies within our gates, the thousands of little Hitlers down South who flout the law, overthrow the government, and degrade human nature. If the constituted government of our country cannot do anything about this situation it is high time we have another revolution. It is inconceivable that such inhumanity can long endure.

A very revealing picture of our democracy from the economic side comes to us from the Pacific coast. Many of the big aircraft corporations have their largest plants out West. They are taking on thousands of new men. Of some 60,000 recently employed one was a Negro. . . .

The fact was mentioned that the aircraft industry was receiving millions and this was the people's money and American Negroes are an inseparable part of the people and should therefore be given the same consideration as others in a democracy.

The Vultee Aircraft, Inc., virtually answers for all when its manager of industrial relations replied:

"I regret to say that it is not the policy of this company to employ people other than of the Caucasian race, consequently we are not in a position to offer your people employment at this time."

The statement is clear. On the economic front our democracy does not embrace Negroes. . . . Chicago, Ill., Defender.

Several months ago when the City of Boley was in financial straits regarding default in bond payments, a lot of folk sniggled, suggesting that such a situation was solely incident to a Negro community. . . .

This week another story is in the headlines, but it is a white community. Down in Pineview, Georgia, the town was recently auctioned off under a judgment from the United States court. The white folk in that community were unable to retire school bonds totaling \$18,000.

There is no point in relating this story except to cause many Negroes to think. All failures are not to be found solely among Negroes. Most Negroes if they succeed do so not because of opportunity, but in spite of difficulty.

Oklahoma City, Okla., The Black Dispatch.

Tuesday the electors of this State went to the polls again to determine who would be the Congressional representatives from Louisiana. The votes cast were supposed to have been by the people, and indicating their choice of a public officer.

The men who are going up to Washington as the choice of the people will be choice of a certain portion of the people: only that certain portion who can qualify to vote under the present regulations of the Democratic party, regulations which specify that to participate in the exercise of franchise in our fair State, one can be anything else but an America Negro. . . . New Orleans, La., Louisiana Weekly.

If America shall deny its black citizens equal opportunity to defend her shores and, if she shall be threatened and invaded, she shall burn in the same manner as did Rome, as did France, and suffer the humilities and worries of Great Britain,—all because she fiddles with race prejudice. If America fiddles in such serious times as these, driving from the colors those who volunteer to die for her defense, she declares herself as welcoming dictatorship and opposing democracy. . . . Charleston, S. C., Lighthouse and Informer.

A wise Greek of antiquity is credited with having advised his contemporaries to "Know thyself"—a bit of advice with which every schoolboy, whether he knows the author or not, is acquainted. . . .

For this reason, the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, just ended in Chicago, Ill., deserves more than passing mention

Financed during its early years by its director and guiding spirit, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the Association, as its supporters have grown in numbers, now publishes two magazines, produces texts on the Negro for schools and colleges, supplies libraries with special collections of rare books on the Negro, and educates promising young men for service in historical research. In addition, because of its efforts there have been collected 5,000 manuscripts bearing on the Negro and the publication of numerous monographs on Negro life. . . . Philadelphia, Pa., Tribune.

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Conscription Bill Gets Amendments on Jim Crow

Amendments which make a gesture at preventing discrimination were added to the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill before it was finally approved by the House and Senate. The amendments prohibit racial discrimination in volunteer enlistments and among draftees.

The opinion is widespread that a "joker" clause reading "if he is acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training or service" will allow plenty of leeway for the army and navy to continue their well-known discriminatory treatment of the colored applicants.

For example, a Negro volunteer or draftee who indicated he wished to serve in the Navy would be found to be "acceptable" only in the messmen's branch. Similarly, a Negro citizen who expressed preference for the Marines or the air corps would be found "unacceptable," but would be enlisted in some other branch of the service.

Up to the time of going to press, Negroes who sought to enlist in the army and in the air corps were still being refused in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and elsewhere.

In Charlotte, N. C., a colored school teacher who sought information about enlistment was beaten severely by recruiting officers.

FBI Says It Protected Brownsville Citizens

A letter from the Attorney General's office to the N.A.A.C.P. stated that Negro citizens of Brownsville, Tenn., who sought to register on September 4 and 5 were protected by Department of Justice agents and did register; but letters received in a roundabout way by the N.A.A.C.P. through third parties all state that no Negroes registered in Brownsville on September 4 and 5.

There is a conflict over what did happen. One letter states that the colored people were afraid to register even though they had been told they would be protected. The terror against Negroes in Brownsville is said to be almost as great today as it was during the third week in June when Elbert Williams was lynched for advocating the registration of colored people.

Sixth Lynching

The lynching of 16-year-old Austin Callaway in LaGrange, Georgia, Sep-

Ft. Worth Worker



MRS. FANNIE WILLIAMS Chairman, Education Committee

tember 8 by a mob of six masked white men who forced the local jailer to release the boy from a cell, and then took him eight miles from town where he was shot to death, constitutes the sixth authenticated lynching of 1940.

Young Callaway was accused of an attempted attack on a white woman. The complete list of 1940 lynchings, together with the dates, places and manner of lynchings, follows: Sarah Rawls, March 2; Benton Ford, March 2, Ike Gaston, March 7, all white, all beaten to death at Atlanta, Georgia; Elbert Williams, June 20, drowned, Brownsville, Tennessee; Jesse Thornton, June 22, shot to death, Luverne, Alabama; Austin Callaway, September 8, shot to death, LaGrange, Georgia.

South Carolinians Are Refused Registration

A number of colored people of this city, headed by Mrs. Lottie P. Gaffney, were turned down flatly when they sought to register in order to vote for President of the United States next November 5.

The registration board told Mrs. Gaffney and those with her: "Darkies ain't never voted in South Carolina and especially Cherokee county. I will not register you."

Campaign Continued for Jobs in Defense Work

A second list of industrial plants which have received national defense contracts was sent out by the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. to its branches and other interested persons over the country in September. The list covers sixty-seven plants in nineteen states. The association sent out its first list in August.

Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and other interested groups are urged to visit the plants and to confer with chambers of commerce and employment agencies in a concerted nationwide effort to secure employment of Negroes in the huge program.

Barkley Denies "Deal" to Kill Anti-Lynch Bill

Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader, has denied to the N.A.A.C.P. a story published in the Chicago Defender, September 14, which stated that he had told a delegation in Washington that the anti-lynching bill was "a dead horse" and that it was useless to agitate for its passage during the campaign because the Republicans and the Democrats had made an agreement to keep the bill out of the campaign.

In the face of a lynching of a sixteenyear-old boy in Georgia, September 8, Senator Barkley has persisted in his determination not to call up the antilynching bill for consideration.

Late in September, the N.A.A.C.P. sent letters to nine supporters of the legislation in the Senate asking them to bring up the matter before adjournment.

Branch News

Alabama: According to a statement made by J. L. LeFlore, chairman of the Southern Conference of Branches, continuous pressure brought to bear by the conference, has resulted in the Seaboard Air Line agreeing to modernize coach equipment for colored passengers operating between Birmingham, Atlanta, and Washington At a meeting held the latter part of

At a meeting held the latter part of August, the Mobile branch after an open forum discussion endorsed the necessity of compulsory military training.

District of Columbia: The prompt and accurate report of a police officer's conduct in making an arrest for an alleged traffic violation, made by Mrs. Blackston to the District branch, resulted in the dismissal of the charges against her and further inquiry into the conduct of the officer by

Inspector Kelly. When Governors of states and law enforcement officers from all over the country met recently in Washington, the District branch telegraphed the body urging their consideration of methods by which the civil liberties of citizens might which the civil liberties of citizens might be protected and mob violence prevented in the increasing tension of the war situation. Thomas Mills who enjoys band music was recently denied admission at the Marine Barracks when he attempted to attend an advertised public concert. His complaint of discrimination to the NAACP office and subsequent correspondence with Commandant Holcomb established the fact that the guard who stopped lished the fact that the guard who stopped Mr. Mills had exceeded his authority and that discrimination will not be tolerated. The District branch has addressed a protest to the D.C. Commissioners regarding recent instances in which ambulance service has been so slow as to endanger the lives of those needing hospital care. An investi-gation was promised. The District branch was a co-sponsor of a mass meeting on the was a co-sponsor of a mass meeting on the Howard University campus to discuss citizenship problems. U. S. Tate presided and speakers were Charles H. Houston, T. J. Anderson, Franklin Thorne, Capt. Eugene Davidson, and Dr. A. Langston Taylor.

Illinois: Mrs. A. Foxwell was honored as Champaign's Miss America at a rousing fish fry and rally of the Champaign-Urbana branch, for having brought in the largest number of memberships. Miss E. Herndon was runner-up. The prize consisted of total expenses covering the trip sisted of total expenses covering the trip to the American Negro exposition, and the second prize was half that amount. Clifford Jones was chairman of the membership drive, and the committee for the rally consisted of Grady Jordan, president, John Dixson, Robert E. Service, Richard Edwards, Arthur Evans, William Prince, George Person, W. McMillen, John Woods, and several others. Blanche Jamerson was secretary and cashier. Approximately \$125 was added to the funds of the branch. branch

The Decatur and Bloomington branches held an annual field meet on Labor Day at Fans field.

Iowa: "An association which seeks to guarantee the rights and liberties of any group in a legal way is to be commended for its Americanism," Rabbi Gordon said in his address at the annual Emancipation day celebration held by the Waterloo branch. Approximately 700 persons attended the celebration with games and contests throughout the day, and 350 attended the dance in the evening. tended the dance in the evening.

Massachusetts: At the executive committee meeting of the New Bedford branch held recently, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter Brooks presented a report of the New England regional conference in Providence. Board members voted a contribution to the Brownsville fund to finance prosecution for those responsible for the recent violences

Ray W. Guild, president of the Boston Branch, was one of the speakers at a rally sponsored by the Greater Boston Committee to Oppose Conscription.

New Jersey: The Montclair branch, presided by Dr. Ferdinand D. Williams, was host to the state quarterly conference of the NAACP at the end of August. State and local unemployment and housing conditions were discussed.

The Paterson branch resumed its regular monthly meetings on September 25 at the C.M.E. Hall. Dr. F. S. Hargrave, the

Chicago Worker



MRS. E. R. FOSTER President, Chicago Branch Auxiliary

only Negro member of the New Jersey Legislature, was guest speaker at a meeting on September 11.

New York: Attorney Henry A. Slaughter, president of the Corona branch, has been appointed as a city marshal, the first

Negro to this post.

James E. Allen, president of the New York State Conference of branches, was guest speaker on the Harlem Serenaders program, station WMCA, on August 29.

Oklahoma: Officers elected in the newly organized Ada branch are: Arthur Russell, president; Mary Jones and Lulu B. Watkins, vice presidents; Charles Johnson, Wordie Dilworth, Australia Vinson, secretaries; Wesley Allen and Bertha Walker,

Pennsylvania: The Media branch announces through its president, C. I. Moat, nounces through its president, C. 1. Moat, a very active working schedule for its fall and winter activities. Plans have been made for the following events: September 3, musical program by the Junior choir of the Wesley AME church; October 1, at the Lima U.A.M.E. church, Lima, Pa., Rev. M. W. Cohen, member of the Delaware Assistance Board will speak and ware Assistance Board, will speak, and music will be by the Lima Choir. The November 5th meeting will be at the Campbell A.M.E. church, and there will be a panel discussion on "How to get more political recognition in our community;" discussion leaders will be Mrs. Lucy Waters, Percy Satipps, William Jacobs. Waters, Percy Satipps, William Jacobs, Mrs. Robena Schumate. December 3, at the Second Baptist church, Media, will be youth council night; Gladys Quinlan and Mrs. Robena Schumate will be in charge, and at this time Rev. J. L. Lewis, pastor of the First Partite church of Meater. Po of the First Baptist church of Morton, Pa., of the First Baptist church of Morton, Pa, will install the officers of the branch. January 7, 1941 will feature the president's annual address, the annual report of the secretary and treasurer, and a social hour with music in charge of Mrs. Florence Martin and Mr. Sebastian Hunter. Plans are almost completed for the baby contest, to be held Friday, October 25, at the Second Baptist church, Media. The entertainment-special events committee are completing plans for a registal to be given by pleting plans for a recital to be given by

the Vesper Glee club, of Philadelphia, Thursday, November 7.

Rhode Island: The Newport branch pre-sented Rev. W. J. Long as speaker in Canonchet Hall in August.

Washington: The Rev. J. P. Hubbard of Oakland, Calif., was the principal speaker at the meeting of the Spokane branch in August at the Bethel African Methodist church.

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Book Reviews

"BLACK MAJESTY"

BLACK FIRE: A Story of Henri Christophe, By Covelle Newcomb. Illustrated by Avery Johnson. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940, XII+276pp. \$2.50.

Henry Christophe, King of Haiti, was first brought to the attention of the American brought to the attention of the American public through the sketchy biography of John W. Vandercook's Black Majesty. Now we have a novelized biography of him by Mr. Newcomb. Mr. Newcomb divides his story roughly into three parts: the early life of his hero, the years of the slave rebellion and the San-Domingo Revolution, and the nine all too brief years of our hero as king of Haiti. We do not know much of the early life of Christophe, and the little that we know is hardly significant. We are not even sure of either the date or the place of his birth. Some say he was born in October 1767 in the English island of Grenada; others say that he was born on the island of St. Christopher, now St. Kitts. That he was born a slave is a truth that no one questions, but whether his owner was French or English still a matter of dispute. His first master sold him when he was hardly more than a youngster, but whether to a French officer in Comte d'Estaing's expedition or to the French captain of a fishing vessel, the alternative accepted by our author, is likewise a question of debate. Our first authentic snippets of facts about Christophe's life begin to appear after he has become a waiter and billiard marker in Coidovic's The Crown, a famous inn at Cap-François. How he fared during his years as a waiter at The Crown is left chiefly to our imagination. Indeed, the curtain does not lift until Christophe joins Toussaint-Louverture's forces as a sergeant. From this moment on the life of our eponymous hero becomes an integral part of the tense drama of the San-Domingo Revolution with its martyrs, its heroes, its villains, and its bewildered tools and victims.

It is interesting to notice that we first begin to realize the full force of Christophe's power and character after he has been made the governor of the Cap. The charming good sense, the courage, and the audacity of the man are often incredible. "I cannot permit you to disembark," he writes to Leclerc, "until the governor-general [Toussaint] sends me the order. If you leave your ships without my permission you will come only to a city of ashes, and even upon the ashes will I fight you." And he starts the fire in the Cap by first setting fire to his own mansion, the finest in all Haiti. When Leclerc landed the next day, he found that only 59 houses remained out of 2,000. After the declaration of the independence of Haiti by Dessalines in 1804, Christophe's ascendancy is rapid and decisive. Dessalines' assassination brought on a quarrel between Christophe and Petion which resulted in the former's complete domination of the North. In June 1811 Christophe, during a barbaco (barbecue), proclaimed himself king under the title of Henri I. He now set out to build up his kingdom. He created a nobility, he built the famous palace of Sans-Souci, and later, out of fear of a possible return of the French, he constructed the famous Citadelle Lafer-rière atop the mountain of Bonnet-à-l'Évêque.

Parched with a hot desire to accomplish so much for his people he saw himself caught up in disease and rebellion and committed suicide in 1820. Now just what did this great man do in order to leave his mark on world history? Probably the best summary of his achievements is to be found in the pages of James Franklin's The Present State of Hayti (p. 210), the book of a man who has no particular love for either Negroes or Haitians:

He enforced attention to agriculture, encouraged commerce with foreigners, whom he led to his ports by extensive purchases of their commodities to supply the wants of his government, and he made rapid strides towards the advancement of education by establishing schools for the instruction of youth, and by inviting men of learning and talents from all countries, for the purpose of presiding at the head of the institutions which he had formed for the promotion of science. His regulations unquestionably display sound views of policy, which ought to have ensured the welfare of the country, together with the security and happiness of its people.

Though Christophe accomplished miracles of industry, his achievements fell into oblivion a few years after his death. Today he is hardly more than a tradition in Haiti and he is remembered largely because of the crumbling ruins of Sans-Souci and the boldness of his achievement in la Citadelle.

The story of Christophe is an absorbing, dramatic one, yet as Mr. Newcomb tells it it is often halting in parts and very inaccurate in many of its details. Because we know little or nothing of positive value of Christophe's early life, our author can indulge his

novelist's imagination to the full in relating this phase of the King's career; but he has no such latitude when he comes to the later years. Here we look for historical exactitude and we are often disappointed. For instance, our author confuses Marc Chavannes with Jean-Baptiste Chavannes. Vincent Ogé and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes. Vincent Uge and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes were broken on the wheel February 25, 1791, not in March, as our author has it (p. 85ff.). Marc Chavannes was hanged in effigy. Nor did the Hero sail from Haiti, June 8 with Toussaint, as Mr. Newcomb has it. And the ship arrived at Brest, France, July 12, not July 21. Toussaint's account of his arrest as given in his saint's account of his arrest as given in his Mémoires likewise differs from the version given by our author (p. 134ff.). The name of the Haitian monetary unit, the gourde, comes from the Spanish coin the peso gordo, introduced during the early years of the colony, and not from Christophe. Likewise our author's account of Dessaline's assassination differs from the version given by Baron Vastey. His interpretation of the massacre of the whites by Dessalines is also inadequate because he fails to take into account the role of the English agents. In brief, our author's historical errors and interpretations result from his failure to examine recent ground-breaking investigations into the life of Christophe and the Haitian Revolution. Our author's bibliography does not mention Vergniaud Leconte's Henri Christophe dans l'Histoire (1931, nor Duraciné Vaval's "Le Roi d'Haiti Henri Christophe" (1931, nor Jean Valbrun's "Le Roi Henri Christophe," nor Thalle Manieret's expressent on Henri Christophe," valorun's "Le Roi Henri Christophe," nor Thalès Manigat's monograph on Henri. Dr. Richard Pattee's Jean Jacques Dessalines: Fundador de Haiti (1936) is not even men-tioned. Even the Baron Vastey has not been (Continued on page 328)

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LD, worn, dirty, musty, dark

narrow hallways, and telling stories

with each minute part of the shoe

grooves worn into the wooden steps. As

a rule, the age of stairways do not

extend beyond thirty years, but as each

wooden step will tell you, this was no

usual stairway. One could listen forever

to the creaking steps and shaky bannis-

ters, and never fill of the tales it told.

It hardly ever told one complete story

at a time, but rather started one, con-

tinued another, and began another. Yet

it never tired of one particular story. If

one could say so, it very nearly gloried

in this one, and as for the two charac-

ters, it loved them more than it had any

It spoke in a strange language,

though, one that not everyone was privi-

leged to know. Creak! Creak!, it would

say, Squeak! Squeak!, it would cry, and

thereby told of many things. There was

one that it repeated, and could repeat

its inimitable way. I just lay wound up

and down the tenement with my steps

hidden in their usual darkness and

gloom, when I felt a fumbling foot on

my first rickety step. I knew at once

who this was; the hesitant foot told me

of two dull eyes, lusterless things; it

was Paul, the young blind wretch. I

loved Paul, for he was so good. This

day, as all days, I tried to help him by

commanding my steps to be a little

It was a usual day, it would creak in

wound the stairway up and

down six flights, pausing on

lating

h. as annes sail Mr. ed at Cousn his Tsion name

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Baron quate

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forever.

Whirr of hurtling bomb, A meteor falling from Winged things that hum. An arrow Released from vengeful bow.

Of death.

With terror.

Fire birds flying low, Fast as winds that blow Away the breath. Birds that as they go Leave cities in the glow

sturdier, a little less rickety, but as usual, they were insolent and refused to obey me. I am sure that Paul must have experienced this too at one time or another; telling his eyes to see and know-

ing that they would not. Perhaps it was this too that made me love him so. At any rate. I was more than delighted to have him with me.

At the same time, I felt another foot on my first step. This too, I knew, for it was humble though sure, strong and young; it was Mary, an orphan lass. I

loved her sweet humbleness.

Paul had just reached the first floor, when my topmost step devilishly crumbled, and tossed him down me. Mary, my beloved girl, caught him half way down, and the loud cries of my steps subsided when Paul found himself in her

The Old Stairway

By Carl Colodne

soothed his bruised head with her cool hand and moaned, "Oh, you poor, dear thing! Oh, you poor, dear thing!"

There they sat, in the midst of my first flight, and acted as if the earth had suddenly become just me, a poor, old stairway; she cooing to him, and he weeping like the child he was.

A good deal of time passed, and they sat there chattering of many nothings, not even disturbed by the mouse, one of the many that roam o'er and beneath me, which scrambled over their feet.

After that little episode, I saw them together often. I gathered that she worked in some factory, and that she had also found work for him there. This meant that he no longer begged, a thing that he detested, and that he found

Bomber Serenade

By HENRY BLAKELEY

Raucus, vibrant thrum

Of planes as they come

Roaring over the dumb

life a little less cruel than it had been. Quite naturally, the day came when they spoke of living as man and wife.

"Can't you see that it is impossible?" he had asked. "I am blind, you know, he added matter of factly.

"Blind???", she shot back at him, and

laughed mysteriously. "Why, yes -," he began soberly.

Her voice was not without bitterness. "You don't know what colors are, do you Paul?"

"No," he answered sadly.

"You don't know what white is, or red or purple is, do you?"

"No," he answered in a hurt tone. "You never saw the red of an apple, did you? Or the green of grass, did Or the blue of the sky, did

you???" "No," he whispered chokingly.
"And you say you are blind!"

At this, she wept silently, and he hardly breathed.

After a while, he said wretchedly, "Yes, I am blind . . .

"You don't know what white is, do you?" she cried between sobs. "Well, I'll tell you what white is! You . . . You are white."

"I am?" he asked.

"Yes . .

"I am white," he repeated dazedly.

"And I, I am black . .

"And you, you are black," he echoed. He sat silently then.

"Don't you understand???" she screamed in a whisper.

"No, Mary, I don't," he said simply. "Well, look," she tried to explain as the tears rolled down her cheeks, "you are white and I am black. Many people have built a huge, ugly wall between us, one that we can neither touch nor climb, yet -

"We will climb it," he said quietly. "Do you see this stairway here?"

At this, they both looked at me. "Can you think of this stairway lifting its steps out of our reach? Like myself, it is blind. Color is only for good, healthy eyes, but like myself, it has no

eyes to see." If ever my old wooden heart swelled it was then. I was very proud and

Thus did this stairway tell its stories, and it never tired of this one. It never did tell of what befell Paul and Mary after this, but I guess it never mattered to this old scarred stairway.

Diana's Dimples

Of flames and burning woe

By J. W. HAYWOOD, JR.

Just above the jagged peaks of misty mountain clouds,

Lazily and luridly, with measured majesty, Enrobed in all the radiant splendor of her

Diana peeps, with queenly modesty and regal comeliness.

Stardom

By J. W. HAYWOOD, JR.

It travelled fast-a white hot flame-Across the chill sky of the winter But no one, after, knew its name. I watched him enviously as she It vanished, just a sputt'ring splinter.

Book Reviews

(Continued from page 326)

examined at first hand. Therefore, Mr. New-comb's story, though interesting and often dramatic in spots, suffers from this lack of a complete understanding and study of the authentic sources.

JAMES W. IVY

AN ECONOMIC DETOUR. By M. S. Stuart. New York: Wendell Malliet and Co. 339 pp. \$3.00.

From time to time there appear books purporting to cast light upon the plight of business enterprises controlled by Negroes. Generally speaking, these books fall into two categories: those which are out and out propaganda for the cause of Negro business and those which embody some degree of a objectivity. The greater portion, and certainly those which 'enjoy the greater currency, are books of the former class. Authors treating this subject have felt an obligation to defend and extol Negro-controlled business. nesses. This tendency has delayed the making of objective, unbiased analyses of the economic situation in which Negro business finds itself and in doing so has been more harmful than helpful to the cause of Negro business.

M. S. Stuart in An Economic Detour gives

a highly interesting account of the organiza-tion and management of Negro insurance companies. However, his work is not encompanies. However, his work is not entirely free from the tendency mentioned above. In his opinion the larger Negro businesses are operated for the "benefit of the race" with profit playing a very minor role and Negro business men, with few exceptions, are "race leaders" and martyrs for the cause of Negro business, But a wealth of information is assembled in the book. It is a comtion is assembled in the book. It is a compendium of information on Negro insurance companies and their officers. In addition to giving accounts for each of the companies giving accounts for each of the companies and short but glowing biographies of their founders and principal officers, Mr. Stuart discusses the early fraternals and the history of the National Negro Insurance Association. Throughout the book the data is made lively and readable by Mr. Stuart's memoirs as well as his condemnations and preachment.

Though Mr. Stuart expresses ideas relative

Though Mr. Stuart expresses ideas relative to the improvement of Negro business his book is not the systematic development of a theory for accomplishing it. It is funda-mentally a history and not an economic treatise. As a history it is comprehensive and rich with Mr. Stuart's long experience in the field of insurance.

JAMES B. MITCHELL (Continued on Page 332)

Marian Anderson Sings October 20 in Benefit

Marian Anderson is making her first public appearance this season in a song recital at Carnegie Hall on Sunday, October 20. This concert will be given for the benefit of the Greenwich House Music School, which offers opportunities to young people who cannot afford private instruction to become trained as instrumental artists. Mrs. Alfred F. Hess and Mrs. Henry Root Stern head the committee in charge of the benefit.

Back on Broadway



The beautiful and talented dancer, Katherine Dunham, is back on Broadway, preparing for a new show, after a summer in the Middle West. Miss Dunham scored a triumph with her series of Sunday evening dance recitals last spring at the Windsor theatre

My Tears

By MARIE SINKLER

I wept last night sweet, bitter tears For what, I cannot say-But after that, I feel I have A purer soul today.

Octo

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risis

On Defense Board

Ray W. Guild, president of the Boston, Mass., branch of the N.A.A.C.P., was named recently by Governor Saltonstall as a member of the Massachusetts defense board.

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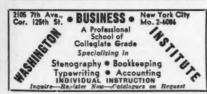
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To N.A.A.C.P. Branch Officers:

As your fall and winter program gets under way, do not forget to include these items, all of which will help you build up a record year of activity:

- Prepare now to sell the beautiful new N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seal, a striking design in red and white. Send your orders now. Ready for distribution after October 25.
- 2. Secure a salesman or newsboy, or appoint a committee to sell The Crisis in your city. Every branch should be an agency for the official organ of the N.A.A.C.P.
- 3. Begin now to make plans for sending delegates to the 1941 conference in Houston, Tex., the last week in June. The N.A.A.C.P. has met in the Deep South only once before—in Atlanta in 1920. In 1934 we went to Oklahoma City and in 1939 to Richmond, Va. Help make the Houston conference the biggest and best ever held!
- 4. See that your secretary or publicity chairman sends a report of your branch work every month to be published in The Crisis. It should reach us by the 10th of the month for next month's issue.

BUILD STRONGER BRANCHES IN 1940-1941

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Book Reviews

(Continued from page 328)

"I am the darker brother."

LANGSTON HUGHES

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia. Sponsored by the Hampton Institute. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1940. XII+380pp. Illustrated. \$2.50.

In a semi-formal, freely written chronicle Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis makes splendid use of the vast negro material collected by the Virginia staff of writers. His workers delved into old letters, court records, diaries, and school and church reports; they interviewed hundreds of persons in all parts of the state; and they vivified their study of slavery through interviews with dozens of living ex-slaves throughout the Dominion. The book, in consequence, is the first comprehensive recital of the role of the Negro in the history of the Old Dominion. Incidentally it is also the first history of the Negro in any state to be produced by WPA. This careful examination of source material has enabled our author to dig out many hitherto unknown facts about the Virginia Negro as well as to rectify many previous historical errors. In actual fact the first slaveholder in Virginia was a Negro: "First free Negro and first Negro landowner, Anthony Johnson perhaps holds the dubious distinction of being the first Virginian, white or black, to hold as a slave for life a Negro who had com-mitted no crime." Nor were the first Negroes brought to Virginia, contrary to popular opinion, "slaves" within the present meaning of the word; they were, along with many white paupers and convicts of England and Ireland, "indentured servants." It was not until after 1640 that the life-long slavery of the Negro became an unalterable Virginia custom. Actually it was not until 1655 that we find the use of the word slave in Virginia legislation.

Many curious historical facts are given prominence in this book. Robert Lumpkin, for instance, slave-trader, and "a favorite with buyers because of his excellent stock and his royal entertainment of traders," after the Civil War, made one of his slave girls his legal wife. One slave is credited with devising a cure for venereal infection. While developing his reaper, Cyrus McCormick had the assistance of a trusted helper, the Negro artisan, Jo Anderson. An-

other slave, Jasper of Norfolk, is credited with inventing his own reaper ten years later. Captain Mark Starlin, the "only Negro naval captain in Virginia's history," is credited with making, with a crew consisting largely of Negroes, many daring attacks on British ships in Hampton Roads during the Revolutionary War. At the battle of Great Bridge we had the "unparalleled situation" of Negro fighting Negro. The trap for Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown was set in part by a "very shrewd Negro" in Lafavette's Army-James Armistead. Practically all the skilled work of the plantation economy was performed by Negro artisans, though Negroes are restricted in such work today; likewise, most of the overseers prior to 1800 were also Negro. "Blind Billy" Armistead was Virginia's only Negro concert artist during slavery days to appear in the concert halls of the state. The assistant librarian of the Pratt Library in Baltimore, and later the sacristan and assistant librarian at the Catholic University in Washington was a slave-born Virginia Negro, William A. Willyms. James Bland, a member of the Virginia legislature during the session of 1870, was said to have been one of the best speakers and keenest debaters in that body. The first law ever passed in America against the importation of slaves was

Discovery

By J. ELIZABETH CARR

I used to say all days were gray That life was made for crying That laughing Joy was long since dead And her jovial sisters, dying. But since I've looked into your eyes I know that I was lying.

I Weary of Confusion

By GWENDOLYN BROOKS

I weary of confusion.
A little is a spice.
But spice for all my dinner,
I think, is not so nice.
Now cook me up a cabbage
Of green and leafy calm.
My heart burns sore within.
This cabbage for a balm!

A Plea: and a Protest

By JOHN HENDRICK CLARKE

I heard Africa cry
Bearing the burden of these years,
I did not hear a single sigh
And no one wiped her tears.
I saw Africa bleed
They robbed her of her best,
And no one saw the need
To wipe the blood from her breast.

passed in Virginia under the administration of Governor Patrick Henry. Strangely enough, however, there is no mention of Patrick Henry's Negro son Melancthon.

It is also probably out of deference to white opinion that the book omits all reference to Thomas Jefferson's five mulatto children, though due notice is taken of his anti-slavery views and his efforts at Negro emancipation. Frank recognition is given to the fact, though it is often glossed by white historians, that Virginians deliberately bred Negro slaves for the slave-markets of the Deep South. Mention is made of the Massenberg law aimed at Hampton Institute, but little more than scant recognition is given to the more sinister "racial purity campaign" of the pianist John Powell. We cannot quarrel with the Negroes who gathered the material. nor with the man who did the actual writing, about many of the omissions, because the whites had the last say as to what was to be included or to be omitted. It is surprising that they were allowed to include as much unconventonal material as they have.

Written in a bright, persuasive style, often barbed with subtle irony, this is a book about the Virginia Negro that should be read. It covers every phase of the history of the Virginia Negro. Contributions of the Negro after slavery are treated in a series of chapters which discuss his church leaders and churches, his political leaders during Reconstruction, his educators and his schools, his labor leaders, his businesses, his banks, his insurance companies and fraternal organizations, his musicians, writers, and artists. book is illustrated with fifty photographs and original drawings. A brilliantly written history of the Negro in Virginia from 1619 up to the present time.

JAMES W. IVY

THE RACE PROBLEM IN FICTION

THE CONTEMPORARY NEGRO NOVEL: A Study in Race Relations. By Nick Aaron Ford. Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1936. 8+108pp. \$1.50.

Contemporary Negro novels lend themselves very easily to sociological treatment because their central question is always the cruel problems of race and color which plague the Negro in America. Their authors concentrate on philosophies of race instead of creating and developing the ideas and feelings of their characters. They are, in a word, propaganda novels. And it is in this spirit that Mr. Ford examines "eighteen novels written by eleven Negroes."

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Three chapters are devoted to "Backgrounds," "Racial Differences," and "Attitudes." The last chapter discusses "Literary Values." The treatment is pedestrian and organizes the author's findings under the following main divisions: "(1) Attitudes of and toward the Negro which most of the writers condemn, (2) Attitudes of the Negro which the majority of the writers approve, (3) Characteristics of Negro Life which tend to emphasize the differences of the races, (4) treatment of white characters." Among the writers studied are Arna Bontemps, Countee Cullen, Dr. Du Bois, George S. Schuyler, Walter White, Langston Hughes, Claude Mc-Kay, and Rudolph Fisher.

WHY NOT TRY RELIGION?

ADVENTURES FOR TODAY. By David Nathaniel Licorish. York: Fortuny's Publishers, 1939. 112pp. \$1.50.

Dr. David Licorish is publicity director for the National Negro Achievement Commission of the New York World's Fair. "To me," he writes, "religion is a business, and a big business too." He explains that this is true because "The message of Christ has an affirmative answer to all human problems." The author attacks the increasing materialism of the age, especially as it manifests itself in the relation of the Church and capitalism, in science, labor problems, Negro race problems, and the lynch problem. "The church must contend for social justice and racial equality. No Church can hope to survive any longer in human affairs unless it tears away from its doorsteps, pews, altar, and pulpit, the partitions of discrimination."

JAMES W. IVY

BOOK BITS

Readers of the Crisis will be interested in New Homes For Old: Public Housing in Europe and America, by William V. Reed and Elizabeth Ogg (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1940. Paper, 25¢.) This is "Headline Book" 22 and it is printed on good paper and illustrated with 79 photographs and 16 drawings. All the essential facts about housing in Europe and America have been compressed within these 112 pages, and they are presented with an astourding clarity. The authors explain the need for housing, tell how modern cities grew, and then proceed to their task of telling us who actually built the low-rent houses in six representative European countries. What these houses are like is explained in picture and prose. Then we learn what kind of people live in them, what these tenants think of their new homes, and what they mean in human welfare and human betterment. The countries surveyed are England, France, Austria, Germany, Sweden and Holland. The heart of the housing problem is the high cost of city land, high cost of building, and high city rents. This situation was, of course, aggravated by the last War. Attacks on the problem have been made through raising the general level of incomes, lowering rents by reducing land and building costs, and providing subsidies from public funds in order to bridge the gap between rents

and workers' incomes.

General A. Nemours of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, the author of many scholarly volumes on the San Domingo Revolution and Toussaint Louverture, has just announced the coming publication of his Histoire de la Famille et de la Descendance de Toussaint-Louverture ("History of the Family and Descendants of Toussaint-Louverture".) According to the prospectus this is to be a volume of 350 pages and a study based largely upon hitherto unpublished material. The confidential reports of the French police in the many localities where the Toussaints lived have even been used. Other documents come from the public archives of France and the private papers of the Louverture family. The author discusses the attempted kidnapping of Placide and Isaac Louverture, the question of the remains of Toussaint Louverture, and the life and death of Rose Louverture, daughter of Placide, whose descendants are still living. The book sells for one dollar American and subscriptions may be sent to General A. Nemours, Port-au-Prince,

Contributions to the Intellectual Life of the Western Hemisphere: 1890-1940, a mimeographed pamphlet issued by the Pan American Union in celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pan American Union, devotes a paragraph to the poetry of the Latin American Negro poets Nicolás Guillén, Regino Pedroso, Emilio Ballagas, and Luis Palas Matos. Cruz e Sousa of Brazil is also mentioned. Gilberto Freyre has recently brought out a new revised edition of his famous Casa-Grande e Senzala ("The Big House and the Slave Quarters"), first issued in 1933 by Maia & Schmidt of Rio. The subtitle of the book is the "Formation of the Brazilian Family Under a Patriarchal Economy." The author's thesis is that the Negro was an asset in the formation of the Brazilian people and that his influence upon the sexual and family life of Brazil was profound. He proves incidentally that many of the Negro slaves in Bahia were much better educated than their masters. Many of

the Negroes could read and wrote Arabic while their masters could not sign their

Richard Wright's Native Son continues to stir the dovecots. Down in Dixie the Birmingham, Alabama, Public Library bans the book with the excuse that it contains "questionable material." Yet the ban is unofficial since the Library Board has taken no action on the matter: the librarian just couldn't buy it because she didn't have the funds. A Massachusetts publishing house is reported to have heralded the discovery that the book is "unsuitable for conserv-ative libraries." While over in Brooklyn it is alleged that the Brooklyn Public Library refused to stock the book because the N. A. A. C. P. had registered a protest. At this writing the N. A. A. C. P. has been unable to run down the rumor. One colored woman reviewer objects to the book because it is a vile attack on pure Negro womanhood. In spite of its many artistic faults, which few of the reviewers mention, Wright's critics carp mainly about his material. Evidently this triple dose of crime, sex, and race is too much for Americans brought up on Walter Winchell, Hearst, and Tillie and Mack. Why anyone should get excited about either sex or crime in the pages of a book is really a bit puzzling. A good dose of pornog-raphy would inoculate such erotic witlings against future contagion.

JAMES W. IVY

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